

## Message Text

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN BOHEMAIAN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

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PASS S/PRS FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE AND TO WHITE  
HOUSE FOR SCOWCROFT AND NESSEN

EO 11652: NA

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER,HENRY A)

SUBJ: TRANSCRIPT OF QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD FOLLOWING  
SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A KISSINGER'S ADDRESS IN SEATTLE,  
WASHINGTON, JULY 22, 1976

BEGIN TEXT

Q. MY QUESTION IF: IN THE LIGHT OF THE RECENT NUCLEAR  
WEAPONS-MAKING CAPABILITY, PLEASE EXPLAIN YOUR POSITION ON  
TH EXPORT OF NUCLEAR MATERIALS.

A. WELL, THE DANGER OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION ARISES FROM  
THE FACT THAT WITH THE ENERGY CRISIS NUCLEAR ENERGY HAS BECOME  
ECONOMICAL -- INFACT, ESSENTIAL --  
THEREFORE, A MARKET FOR MANY COUNTRIES THAT CAN PRODUCE  
NUCLEAR REACTORS ALL OVER THE GLOBE. MOST OF THESE NUCLEAR  
REACTORS, AS A BYPRODUCT, PRODUCE MATERIALS THAT EITHER  
DIRECTLY OR THROUGH REPROCESSING  
CAN BE TURNED INTO FISSION-  
ABLE MATERIAL. THEREFORE, THE PROBLEM IS HOW SHORT OF PRO-  
HIBITING THE EXPORT OF NUCLEAR REACTORS -- WHICH NONE OF THE  
NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS SEEM TO BE READY TO  
ACCEPT -- ONE CAN ESTABLISH SAFEGUARDS THAT INHIBIT NUC-  
LEAR PROLIFERATION.

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NOW, THIS IS A VERY DIFFICULT PROCESS. OUR POLICY HAS BEEN THAT WE WILL NOT SELL PROCESSING PLANTS WHICH WILL ENABLE COUNTRIES TO REPROCESS THE MATERIAL THAT EMERGES FROM NUCLEAR REACTORS INTO FISSIONABLE MATERIAL SUITABLE FOR EXPLOSIVES. OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE NOT FOLLOWED THIS APPROACH, AND WE HAVE BROUGHT A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF PRESSURE TO PREVENT THE SPREADING OF REPROCESSING PLANTS.

WE HAVE ALSO CREATED -OR INVITED COUNTRIES TO JOIN A SUPPLIERS CONFERENCE, IN WHICH COUNTRIES IN WHICH COUNTRIES THAT ARE SUPPLYING NUCLEAR MATERIALS OR NUCLEAR REACTORS WOULD AGREE ON COMMON SAFEGUARDS SO THAT THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD DO NOT COMPETE WITH EACH OTHER IN EASING SAFEGUARDS IN ORDER TO DO NUCLEAR BUSINESS.

THIS CONFERENCE HAS MADE CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS, BUT THE RATE OF THE SPREAD OF THESE NUCLEAR REACTORS IS SUCH THAT IT BECOMES EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO PREVENT THE CAPABILITIES OF THE COUNTRIES RECEIVING THEM IN THE NUCLEAR FIELD FROM GROWING. IT IS A PROBLEM TO WHICH WE HAVE GIVEN THE HIGHEST-PRIORITY ATTENTION, IN WHICH WE ARE MAKING A MAJOR EFFORT -- IN WHICH WE WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE A MAJOR EFFORT -- AND WHICH WE HOPE WE CAN GET UNDER INCREASING CONTROL.

Q. DR KISSINGER, A DECISION OF THE STATE DEPT HAS RESULTED IN AN INCREASE OF 31 MILLION DOLLARS IN THE ANNUAL NATURAL GAS BILL FOR WASHINGTON STATE. THE CANADIAN GOVT WAS READY TO RECOGNIZE DIFFERENT UNITED STATES AREAS' DEPENDENCE ON THEIR EXPORTS. IS THERE ANY POSSIBILITY THAT YOUR DEPT CAN RECONSIDER ITS DECISION?

A. WELL I HAD OCCASION TO SAY THIS MORNING THAT IT IS MOVING FOR ME TO FIND THAT PEOPLE OUTSIDE OF WASHINGTON TALK OF THE STATE DEPT AS A COHESIVE ORGANIZATION (LAUGHTER) -- AS A DEPT THAT HAS UNIFIED OPINIONS --. I CAN UNCLASSIFIED

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TELL YOU WHEN YOU SIT WHERE I DO THAT I DON'T SHARE THAT IMPRESSION.

SECOND I MUST TELL YOU -- WHICH WILL BE EXTREMELY DISCOURAGING FOR MOST OF THE AUDIENCE HERE -- I WAS NOT AWARE THAT THIS ISSUE WAS PARTICULARLY CONTENTIOUS UNTIL I ARRIVED IN SEATTLE. (LAUGHTER.) SINCE THEN IT IS APPARENT TO ME THAT

THERE IS NOT COMPLETE UNANIMITY ON IT.  
(LAUGHTER).

OUR POSITION WAS NOT AIMED AGAINST THE NORTHWEST. OUR POSITION  
DERIVED FROM THE FACT THAT WE DID NOT  
WANT TO ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLE THAT  
A FOREIGN GOVERNMENT COULD ESTABLISH  
DIFFERENTIAL RATES IN THE UNITED STATE BY ITS OWN UNILATERAL  
ACTION AND TO EXERCISE IN EFFECT MONOPOLY POWERS SEEMED  
TO US TO SET AN UNFORTUNATE PRECEDENT.  
NOW, I HAVE HEARD SO MUCH ABOUT THIS PROBLEM SINCE I'VE  
COME HERE (LAUGHTER) THAT I WILL TAKE  
ANOTHER LOOK AT IT WHEN I GET BACK (LAUGHTER),BUT -- ONE MOMENT--  
BUT WHAT I'M AIMING AT PRIMARILY IS TO GET OUT OF TOWN IN ONE  
PIECE. (LAUGHTER).

I'LL TELL YOU ANOTHER THING. THE STATE DEPT MAY NOT HAVE AN  
EXTREMELY UNIFIED OPINION, BUT IT IS EXTREMELY  
GOOD IN DELAYING REPLIES. (LAUGHTER.)

YES, SIR.

Q. MR SECRETARY,I'D LIKE TO FOLLOW UP ON ANOTHER QUESTION  
REGARDING OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH CANADA. THAT RELATIONSHIP  
HAS UNDERGONE SOME DRASTIC CHANGES IN THE PAST SEVERAL YARS  
-- CHANGES THAT HAVE BEEN INFLICTED ON THE PEOPLE IN THIS  
REGION BY STRAINS IN THE AREA OF NATURAL GAS, ALASKA OIL  
SHIPMENTS, CONSTRUCTION OF THE TRIDENT BASE, THE PIPELINE,  
THE FLOODING OF THE UPPER SKAGIT VALLEY, COLUMBIA RIVER  
COMPACT FROM ROBERTS, AND LARGE SCALE PROPERTY PURCHASES ACROSS  
THE BORDER.

LEADERS ON BOTH SIDES HAVE EXPRESSED SOME DEEP CONCERNS ABOUT  
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THIS AND ONE -- SEN JACKSON -- RECENTLY SUGGESTED IT WOULD  
APPEAR THAT THESE RELATIONS OUGHT TO BE ONE PRIORITY IN OUR  
FOREIGN POLICY. NOW, WHY  
IS IT IN SUCH BAD DISREPAIR AND WHAT PLANS ARE THERE, IF ANY,  
TO CORRECT THIS?

A. WELL, I FIRST OF ALL DO NOT BELIEVE THAT OUR RELATIONS  
WITH CANADA ARE IN SUCH AN ACUTE STAGE OF DISREPAIR. SECONDLY,  
ONE SHOULD NOT BELIEVE THAT PROBLEMS WHICH EXIST CAN ALWAYS  
BR RESOLVED BY HYPERACTIVITY.

IT IS INEVITABLE THAT A COUNTRY LIKE CANADA -- WHICH HAS  
SUCH A POWERFUL NEIGHBOR AND SUCH A GREAT PERCENTAGE OF --  
WHOSE ECONOMY IS TIED TO THE UNITED STATES -- WILL TRY TO DEVELOP  
AN IDENTITY THAT IS SEPARATE FROM THE UNITED STATES OR THAT

IT BECOMES VERY CONSCIOUS OF ITS OWN IDENTITY. AND I THINK WE HAVE TO ACCEPT THE FACT THAT IN CANADIAN POLITICS A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF ABILITY TO SHOW ONE IS INDEPENDENT OF THE UNITED STATES IS NOT UNPROFITABLE. AND THIS HAS NOT BEEN LOST ON THE VARIOUS CANADIAN POLITICAL LEADERS.

ON THE OTHER HAND, OUR TIES ECONOMICALLY ARE REALLY SO CLOSE THAT THE PRACTICAL POSSIBILITIES OF DIVERGENCE BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES ARE FAIRLY LIMITED.

THERE ARE A NUMBER OF IRRITATING PROBLEMS, MOST OF THEM GROWING OUT OF THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF THE POPULATIONS LIVING ALONG THE BORDER ON EACH OTHER. WE ARE IN THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATING MANY OF THEM, AND IT'S ONE OF THE FEW CASES WHERE THE PUBLIC DIALOGUE IS MORE BITTER THAN THE PRIVATE DIALOGUE (LAUGHTER)-- BECAUSE USUALLY AFTER THE PUBLIC CONTROVERSY HAS BEEN GONE THROUGH, PRIVATELY WE MANAGE TO MAKE SOME PROGRESS ON THESE ISSUES.

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SO I THINK WE HAVE TO BE MATURE ABOUT OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH CANADA. WE HAVE TO RECOGNIZE THAT THERE WILL OCCASIONALLY BE VOICES THAT ARE NOT PARTICULARLY PLEASANT TO US. BUT WE ALSO HAVE TO RECOGNIZE THAT ON MOST FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES WORK TOGETHER VERY WELL. AND

CONSIDERING THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF OUR TWO NATIONS AND CONSIDERING THE EXTENT TO WHICH OUR ECONOMIES INTERACT, I THINK WE CAN KEEP THESE DISPUTES TO MANAGEABLE PROPORTIONS.

Q. DR. KISSINGER, MY QUESTION TO YOU IS: BEYOND THE LIMITATIONS CREATED BY SALT ON STRATEGIC-WEAPONS DELIVERY SYSTEMS, WHAT NEW INITIATIVES CAN THE UNITED STATES TAKE TO BEGIN TO REDUCE THE GLOBAL ARMS RACE? AND, SECOND, HOW LONG CAN BILATERAL DETERRENCE PROVIDE GLOBAL SECURITY IN AN INCREASINGLY MULTIPOLAR WORLD?

A. WELL, OF COURSE, THE MOST IMPORTANT NEGOTIATION IS THE ONE OF STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS THAT'S NOW GOING ON IN GENEVA, WHICH ATTEMPTS TO PUT A CEILING ON THE STRATEGIC ARMS RACE AND WHICH IN ITS NEXT PHASE WILL ATTEMPT TO TURN IT DOWN AND REDUCE THE STRATEGIC ARMAMENT.

IN ADDITION, WE'RE ENGAGED IN NEGOTIATION FOR THE REDUCTION OF FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE,  
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WHICH ALSO ATTEMPTS TO EASE THE BURDEN OF ARMS IN THOSE AREAS.

THE THIRD AREA IN WHICH ARMS COMPETITION CREATES PROBLEMS IS IN SUCH AREAS AS THE MIDDLE EAST, WHERE THERE ARE LARGE RESOURCES AND MANY ARMS SUPPLIERS -- AND, ON TOP OF IT, MANY CONTENTIOUS PARTIES AND PARTIES WHOSE OWN DIFFERENCES AMONG EACH OTHER SEEM TO THEM TO OUTWEIGH THE REQUIREMENTS OF GLOBAL PEACE VERY OFTEN.

NOW, IN THAT AREA, HOW TO CONTROL THE SHIPMENT OF ARMS INTO AN AREA LIKE THE MIDDLE EAST IS A MATTER TO WHICH WE MUST GIVE INCREASING ATTENTION.

I WOULD POINT OUT, HOWEVER, A NUMBER OF SERIOUS PROBLEMS HERE. THE SHIPMENT OF ARMS AMONG ARAB COUNTRIES IS RELATIVELY EASY, WHILE ISRAEL HAS ONLY ONE COUNTRY FROM WHICH IT CAN ACQUIRE ARMS -- SO UNTIL ABOUT FIVE YEARS AGO IT USED TO BE THOUGHT THAT IF THE SHIPMENT OF ARMS COULD BE LIMITED INTO THE ARAB STATES BORDERING ISRAEL, ONE COULD GET SOMETHING THROUGH. BUT THE FACT OF THE MATTER IS THAT ARMS NOW MOVE WITH INCREASING EASE AMONG THESE VARIOUS COUNTRIES -- AS WE HAVE SEEN RECENTLY IN LEBANON -- AND, THEREFORE, THE PROBLEM OF CONTROLLING INTERNATIONAL ARMS TRADE MUST REACH ALL OF THE SUPPLIERS AND ALL OF THE POSSIBLE RECIPIENTS -- AND, ALSO, THOSE COUNTRIES THAT COULD TRANSFER ARMS AMONG EACH OTHER -- AND, THEREFORE, STRENGTHEN ONE OF THE SIDES IN THE REGIONAL CONSIDERATION. AND THAT IS AN IMPORTANT ISSUE TO WHICH WE HAVE TO TURN.

Q. MR SECRETARY, THE AMERICAN WAR EFFORT IN VIET NAM IS JUSTIFIED BY OUR GOVT LARGELY IN TERMS OF THE VARIOUS CONSEQUENCES ACCRUED IN SOUTH VIET NAM HELD BY THE COMMUNISTS. NOW THAT MORE THAN A YEAR HAS PASSED SINCE THE FALL OF VIET NAM. CAN YOU LIST THE NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF THAT EVENT? AND, ALSO, IN YOUR OPINION, ARE THOSE CONSEQUENCES OF SUCH EFFORT TO JUSTIFY THE AMERICAN AND HUMAN CAUSE IN THE WAR EFFORT?

A. WELL, OF COURSE, I THINK IT IS IMPORTANT TO KEEP IN MIND -- WHICH IS SOMETIMES FORGOTTEN -- THAT WHEN WE CAME UNCLASSIFIED

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TO WASHINGTON THERE WERE 550,000 AMERICAN TROOPS IN VIETNAM AND THAT SOME OF THOSE WHO MOST ACTIVELY OPPOSED THE WAR WERE THOSE THAT PUT THE TROOPS THERE. AND IT IS A DIFFICULT PROBLEM -- HOW TO REMOVE TROOPS ONCE A COUNTRY'S PRESTIGE IS ALREADY ENGAGED.

SECONDLY, YOU CANNOT MEASURE THE IMPACT OF AN INTERNATIONAL EVENT AFTER ONE YEAR. THE HISTORY MOVES MORE SLOWLY THAN THIS. AND THE EFFECT OF ANY EVENT WILL TAKE -- CAN ONLY BE MEASURED IN A FIVE OR TEN-YEAR PERIOD.

THE IMMEDIATE EFFECT ON THE COLLAPSE OF INDOCHINA HAS BEEN THE COLLAPSE OF LAOS AND, CAMBODIA OF COURSE, FOLLOWING IT -- AND THE HUMAN COST IN CAMBODIA HAS BEEN DREADFUL. THE NUMBER OF DEATHS NUMBER IN THE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS IN ONE YEAR, IN ADDITION TO THE INCREDIBLE SUFFERING THAT'S BEEN IMPOSED ON THE POPULATION.

THAILAND HAS MOVED TOWARDS A POSITION OF NEUTRALISM. THE PHILIPPINES HAVE BEGUN TO CHANGE THEIR POLICY. THE IMPACT ON THE PERCEPTION OF OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE AMERICAN FAILURE IN INDOCHINA WILL TAKE MANY YEARS TO WORK ITSELF OUT AND, THEREFORE, I HAVE TO SAY NO ONE SHOULD RECOMMEND TO A COUNTRY THAT LOSING A WAR IS PAINLESS.

WHETHER THE ENTRY INTO THE WAR WAS WELL CONSIDERED, WHETHER ONE SHOULD HAVE MADE THIS MOVE IN THE MIDDLE 60'S, IS A DIFFERENT MATTER. BUT THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR IN INDOCHINA, THE IMPACT OF OUR DEFEAT THERE, WILL TAKE MANY YEARS TO WORK THEMSELVES OUT AND THEY WILL NOT BE FAVORABLE TO US.

Q. MR SECRETARY - IS OUR FOREIGN POLICY SUFFICIENTLY BROAD BASED AND BIPARTISAN TO ALLOW FOR CONTINUITY OF PRESENT LONG-RANGE POLICIES, SHOULD THERE BE A REGRETTABLE CHANGE

OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE? (LAUGHTER)

A. WELL, I THINK THAT THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES HAS TO BE BASED ON THE PERMANENT INTERESTS AND PERMANENT VALUES OF THE UNITED STATES, AND THOSE ARE INDEPENDENT OF PERSONALITIES. AND, THEREFORE, I TEND TO BELIEVE THE MAIN UNCLASSIFIED

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LINES OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY WILL BE CONTINUED, REGARDLESS OF ADMINISTRATION AND REGARDLESS OF THE INCUMBENT SECRETARY OF STATE -- HARD AS IT IS TO IMAGINE FOR ME. (LAUGHTER.)

Q. DR KISSINGER, I AM A DRY-LAND WHEAT FARMER FROM WASHINGTON FOR THE PAST 40 YEARS. AND IN LIEU OF THE FACT THAT WE ARE NOW SEEING THE START OF A SURPLUS OF GRAIN PRODUCTS -- WHEAT, CORN AND THAT -- I'D LIKE TO ASK THIS QUESTION: DO YOU BELIEVE IN WITHHOLDING FOOD PRODUCTS AS A DIPLOMATIC BARGAINING TOOL?

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A. I WILL TELL YOU THE EXPERIENCE THAT I'VE HAD. WHEN I TRAVEL AROUND THE UNITED STATES, IN MOST NON-FARM STATES PEOPLE COME UP TO ME AND SHAKE THEIR

FIST AND SAY, "WHY DON'T YOU WITHHOLD FOOD PRODUCTS AS A BARGAINING WEAPON AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION, AGAINST OTHER COUNTRIES?"

IN THE WHEAT-GROWING STATES I GET A SLIGHTLY OPPOSITE REACTION (LAUGHTER.)

I THINK WE HAVE TO MAKE A NATIONAL DECISION. IF WE WANT TO GAIN DIPLOMATIC BENEFIT FROM OUR FARM PRODUCTS, THEY WE MUST HAVE SOME MECHANISM BY WHICH THE SALE OF THESE PRODUCTS IS GEARED TO CERTAIN FOREIGN FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS. ON THE OTHER HAND, I UNDERSTAND THE FEELING OF THE FARMERS THAT THEY SHOULD NOT HAVE TO PAY THEMSELVES FOR FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVES. WE HAVE TAKEN -- THE ADMINISTRATION HAS TAKEN -- THE POSITION THAT WE WOULD NOT INTERRUPT THE SALE OF WHEAT AND WE WOULD NOT INTERRUPT THE MARKETS. BUT THE PRACTICAL CONSEQUENCE OF THIS IS THAT ANY FOREIGN COUNTRY CAN ENTER OUR MARKETS. BUT THE PRACTICAL CONSEQUENCE OF THIS IS THAT ANY FOREIGN COUNTRY CAN ENTER OUR MARKETS ON THE BASIS OF EQUALITY AND CAN USE OUR FREE MARKETS THE WAY THEY OPERATE AND THAT WE CANNOT USE IT FOR THAT REASON, FOR FOREIGN POLICY REASONS.  
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I'M NOT CRITICIZING THE DECISION OF THE ADMINISTRATION. I'M SIMPLY POINTING OUT WHAT THE CONSEQUENCES ARE. I SUPPORT THE DECISION OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

Q. MR SECRETARY, ESSENTIALLY WHAT IS US POLICY ON TAIWAN? DO YOU THINK THE US WILL EVENTUALLY RECOGNIZE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AS THE TRUE REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT? IF YES, WON'T THAT BE A SHARP DEPARTURE FROM OUR PAST POLICY?

A. WELL, THE UNITED STATES INDICATED IN THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE OUR VIEW THAT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MAINLAND AND TAIWAN SHOULD BE SETTLED BY PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTIES CONCERNED. THIS HAS BEEN THE STUMBLING BLOCK TO PROGRESS ON NORMALIZATION, AND WE HAVE NOT CHANGED OUR VIEW THAT THESE RELATIONS SHOULD BE SETTLED ON A PEACEFUL BASIS.

Q. THANK YOU.

Q. DR KISSINGER, AS THE CURRENT SECRETARY OF STATE, BASED ON YOUR PAST BACKGROUND IN THE UN, DO YOU THINK THE UN HAS ANY REAL PURPOSE, NOW THAT THE COUNCIL HAS AGAIN FAILED TO ONLY CONDEMN TERRORISM -- MOSTLY IN THE PALESTINIAN, THE HIJACKINGS AND THE KILLINGS? DON'T YOU THINK THAT THIS IN EFFECT GIVES THE GREEN LIGHT TO



TERRORISM? AND WHAT DOES THIS MEAN TO THE FUTURE OF THE UN AS YOU SEE IT?

A. WELL, TO US, AS FAR AS THE UN IS CONCERNED, WE HAVE GONE THROUGH A INTERESTING TRANSFORMATION IN THIS COUNTRY. UNTIL ABOUT TWO YEARS AGO, WHEN ONE MET WITH AN AUDIENCE LIKE THIS, THE GENERAL QUESTION WAS "HOW CAN YOU STRENGTHEN THE UNITED NATIONS"? NOW THERE HAS BEEN A GROWING SKEPTICISM ABOUT THE UNITED NATIONS, WHICH IS JUSTIFIED IN CONSIDERABLE PART BY ITS PERFORMANCE.

THERE ARE MANY ASPECTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO WHICH WE STRONGLY OBJECT. WE OBJECT TO THE AUTOMATIC MAJORITIES. WE OBJECT TO THE ONE-WAY MORALITY. WE OBJECT TO THE FACT THAT MORE STRINGENT CRITERIA ARE APPLIED TO SOME UNCLASSIFIED

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COUNTRIES THAN TO OTHERS.

WE WILL NOT SUBMIT VITAL INTERESTS TO SUCH PROCEDURES. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE IS NEEDED IN THE WORLD SOME MEETING PLACE WHERE IT IS EASY FOR PARTIES TO GET TOGETHER AND WHERE YOU CAN HAVE AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WHICH DOES NOT HAVE TO BE ESPECIALLY ORGANIZED. AND, THEREFORE, WE BELIEVE THAT THE UN AS AN INSTITUTION STILL HAS IMPORTANT FUNCTIONS. AND WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT IF THE TRENDS IN THE UNNATIONS OF RECENT YEARS CONTINUE --THE TREND TOWARDS CONFRONTATION, THE TREND TOWARDS ONE-WAY VOTING, THE TREND TOWARDS AUTOMATIC MAJORITY, THE TENDENCE TO GET THE SO-CALLED GROUP OF 77 -- WHICH IS REALLY MORE THAN A HUNDRED NATIONS ALWAYS VOTING TOGETHER SO THAT THEY CONSTITUTE A BLOC OF THEIR OWN --THAT THEN THE POLITICAL FUNCTIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS WILL BECOME LESS AND LESS RELEVANT TO THE ISSUES CONCERNED.

NOW, ACTUALLY, WE THINK THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE, WHILE IT DID NOT CONDEMN TERRORISM, MARKED A STEP FORWARD BECAUSE THEY ALSO DID NOT CONDEMN ISRAEL. IN FACT, THEY WITHDREW THEIR RESOLUTION CONDEMNING ISRAEL. AND WE HAD A MAJORITY FOR THE CONDEMNATION OF TERRORISM, BUT IT WAS NOT THE MAJORITY THAT IS NEEDED TO PASS SOMETHING IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

SO I BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE FUNCTIONS THAT ARE STILL NECESSARY TO BE PERFORMED BY THE UNITED NATIONS, BUT THE UNITED STATES WILL FIGHT AND NOT ACCEPT THE SORT OF PROCEDURES THAT HAVE BECOME, UNFORTUNATELY, TOO CHARACTERISTIC OF UNITED NATIONS PROCEDURES. AND WE HOPE VERY MUCH THAT IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY THIS YEAR THERE WILL BE SOME IMPROVEMENT. AND, IF THERE ISN'T, WE WILL CERTAINLY MAKE OUR POSITION VERY PLAIN.

(APPLAUSE.)

MR SCROGGS: MR SECRETARY, I THINK WE SHOULD LIMIT IT TO ONE  
LAST QUESTION BECAUSE YOU ARE FIVE MINUTES OVER YOUR TIME  
NOW.

Q. MR SECRETARY, YESTERDAY, THE WEST GERMAN PRESS BROKE THE  
SCANDAL OF THE SHIPMENT OF ARMS FROM US BASES IN WEST GERMANY  
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TO THE PHALANGE FACTION  
IN LEBANON. THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN IN-  
CREASINGLY THREATENING NUCLEAR -- OR, RATHER, MILITARY --  
ACTIVITY TO DEFEND THE EXISTENCE OF THE PALESTINIANS. AND MANY  
OF OUR SOURCES IN THE FORD FACTION IN THE WHITE HOUSE POINT  
TO THE IMMEDIATE DANGER OF A GLOBAL NUCLEAR WAR FROM YOUR  
GLOBAL POLICIES. WELL, "DR STRANGELOVE" (LAUGHTER), I'D LIKE  
TO ASK IF YOU DON'T THINK THAT A POLICY  
OF DEBT MORATORIUM IS PREFERABLE TO A GLOBAL THERMONUCLEAR  
WAR.

A. WELL, I WILL MAKE THE DARING ASSERTION THAT I'M AGAINST  
THERMONUCLEAR WAR (LAUGHTER.)

I'M NOT FAMILIAR WITH THAT STORY IN THE GERMAN PRESS THAT  
MATERIAL HAS BEEN SHIPPED FROM GERMANY TO THE CHRISTIAN GROUPS  
IN LEBANON. AND IF IT HAS, I DON'T BELIEVE IT WAS AMERICAN  
EQUIPMENT. IT WAS CERTAINLY NOT DONE WITHOUT PERMISSION.

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Q. THIS IS THE MUNICH PRESS IN WEST GERMANY.

A. WILL, IT COULD BE. IT SIMPLY -- I'M NOT FAMILIAR WITH IT.  
BUT I ALSO BELIEVE THAT  
WE CANNOT SET UP A FALSE ANTITHESIS BETWEEN DEVELOPMENT.  
DEBT MORATORIUM IS REALLY JUST ONE WAY OF ENCOURAGING DEVELOP-  
MENT AND SECURITY. THERE HAS TO BE SECURITY FOR DEVEL-  
OPMENT TO BE MEANINGFUL, AND WE HAVE GOT THE CHOICE BETWEEN  
SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT.

IF WE CANNOT DO BOTH, WE CANNOT DO EITHER. SO I'M IN FAVOR  
OF PURSUING BOTH COURSES SIMULTANEOUSLY, AS I HAVE ATTEMPTED TO  
INDICATE.

THERE WAS SOMEBODY OVER THERE WHO STILL WANTED TO ASK A  
QUESTION, BUT HE'S DISAPPEARED.

VOICE: MAY WE HAVE ONE QUESTION FROM THE GALLERY? WE WEREN'T  
GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO PASS ALONG THOSE CARDS. (APPLAUSE)

A. OK, ONE QUESTION. I'LL TELL YOU AFTER I HEAR THE QUESTION.  
(LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE).

VOICE: THANK YOU VERY MUCH, MR KISSINGER. IT GIVES ME GREAT  
PLEASURE TO COME DOWN AND TO  
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MEET A MAN WHO HOLDS SUCH A PRESTIGIOUS POSITION AS YOURSELF  
IN WORLD AFFAIRS.

I'D LIKE TO ASK ONE QUESTION IF I MAY BUT CALL FOR A STATEMENT  
FIRST.

VOICES: NO\*

VOICE: IT APPEARS TO ME THAT THE RECORD WILL SHOW  
THAT YOU HAVE DONE EVERYTHING  
TO PROMOTE DISARMAMENT AND THE  
DESTRUCTION OF OUR DEFENSES  
IN AMERICA. YOU, IN FACT, HAVE  
MADE THE WAVE OF THE FUTURE IS THE COMMUNIST MOSCOW WAY OF  
GOVERNMENT. I WOULD LIKE TO KNOW: IF A MAN IN YOUR IMPORTANT

POSITION IN AMERICA TRUTHFULLY HOLDS THAT VIEW, WHY DO YOU NOT  
RESIGN AND LET A TRUE AMERICAN TAKE YOUR PLACE?

VOICES: NO\*

A. THIS IS BEGINNING TO SOUND LIKE A WASHINGTON PRESS CON-  
FERENCE. (LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE.)

I DON'T WANT TO DISTURB THE EQUILIBRIUM OF THE QUESTIONER  
(LAUGHTER), BUT I HATE TO TELL HIM THAT I HAVE NEVER SAID,  
NOR DO I BELIEVE, WHAT COMMUNISM  
IS THE WAVE OF THE FUTURE. I HAVE SAID, AND I'VE TRIED TO  
CONDUCT FOREIGN POLICY ON EXACTLY THE OPPOSITE PROPOSITION.

SECONDLY, I HAVE ALWAYS BELIEVED -- AND I HAVE SAID SO IN EVERY  
PUBLIC SPEECH -- THAT A STRONG  
DEFENSE IS ESSENTIAL FOR AN EFFECTIVE FOREIGN POLICY -- THAT YOU  
CANNOT HAVE AN EFFECTIVE FOREIGN  
POLICY WITHOUT A STRONG DEFENSE.

AT THE SAME TIME, I BELIEVE -- AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE TO  
UNDERSTAND IT -- THAT IN THE THERMONUCLEAR AGE A NUCLEAR WAR  
WOULD MEAN THE END OF CIVILIZED LIFE AS WE KNOW IT AND,  
THEREFORE, A RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL CANNOT ENGAGE IN  
MOCK TOUGH RHETORIC. HE HAS AN OBLIGATION TO SEE WHAT CAN BE  
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DONE TO REDUCE THE DANGER OF  
NUCLEAR CATASTROPHE ON THE BASIS OF RECIPROCAL AGREEMENTS,  
ON THE BASIS OF UNILATERAL AMERICAN ACTION. AND MAYBE THIS  
GENTLEMEN AND THE PREVIOUS QUESTIONER  
CAN GET TOGETHER AND CHECK THEIR PERCEPTION, BECAUSE I THINK  
THEY HAVE SLIGHTLY DIVERGENT VIEWS  
OF WHAT I STAND FOR. (APPLAUSE)

MR. SCROGGS: DR KISSINGER, WE DEEPLY APPRECIATE YOUR BEING  
WITH US TODAY. END TEXT  
KISSINGER

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** SECTO, POLICIES, EXPORTS, NUCLEAR ENERGY, NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, PRESS CONFERENCES  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 23 JUL 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** n/a  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** n/a  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:**  
**Disposition Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976SECTO19011  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760285-0281  
**From:** SECRETARY BOHEMIAN  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19760725/aaaaavqd.tel  
**Line Count:** 643  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION PRS  
**Original Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 12  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** hackerp0  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 12 MAR 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <12 MAR 2004 by ThomasVJ>; APPROVED <06 JAN 2005 by hackerp0>  
**Review Markings:**

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Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** TRANSCRIPT OF QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD FOLLOWING SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A KISSINGER'S ADDRESS IN SEATTLE  
**TAGS:** OVIP, ENRG, PARM, US, (KISSINGER, HENRY A)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006